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IN A
LETTER
TO THE
Author of the *Craftsman*.

*Aude aliquid brevibus Gyavis, & carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquis*——— JUV.



L O N D O N :

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To the PATRONS of the *CRAFTSMAN.*

GENTLEMEN,



S I am a Member of the Community which you are endeavouring to disturb, a Friend to the Constitution which you are labouring to overturn, and a faithful Subject to the King whom you daily insult, you have no Right to expect a Panegyrick from me: I will therefore deal sincerely with you, by assuring you, that as the Writings you patronize, tho' *Libels*, are no *Satires*; so mine, tho' a *Dedication*, shall be no *Flattery*.

A

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It often happens that Authors do not know their Patrons; if they did, we should not have such Pictures of them, as Dedicators but too frequently exhibit. It is not impossible that I may fall into this same Error; but as the Mode obliges a Writer in this Way to draw some kind of Characters, give me leave to indulge my Fancy in framing such, as may best intitle you to the Honour of patronizing the seditious Labours of Mr. *Danvers*. Nor am I unwilling to allow you the Credit of sometimes lending a helping Hand to his most remarkable Performances, tho' Modesty may oblige you to conceal your real Names, under the fictitious ones of *Oldcastle* or *Trot*.

And I am the rather induced to this, it being so much the modern Fashion to consider *Persons* rather than *Things*, that the good People
of

DEDICATION. iii

of *Britain* may be apprized what has been the Provocation to so much invetrate Malice, and unprecedented Scurrility; for *whose* Sakes they are incited to Sedition and Rebellion; and on what mighty Occasion they are thus weekly called upon to hazard their Liberty, Peace, and Prosperity.

Let me then suppose a young Gentleman coming some time since into the World, with all the Advantages that recommend Men to the Esteem, Favour, and Approbation of Mankind, caress'd and espoused by the *Ministers*, loaded with the Favours of the *Crown*, promoted to some of the most considerable Employments of Honour, Profit, and Trust, and particularly supported by *One*, who heaped upon him all the Obligations that a cordial Friendship could ask or give: But being in his own Nature am-

bitious and aspiring, a Slave to his Passions, impatient and irresolute, unable to bear a Superiority; conceiving unjust Jealousies and Discontents, full of himself, and his own extraordinary Merit, and determined to hold the highest Offices in the State, or to censure and confound *all* the Measures of the Government, under any other *Administration*; he at length renounced at once all former Friendships and Principles, vowing the Destruction of those who had distinguished him by a peculiar Regard, betraying private Correspondencies, and endeavouring to distress and disturb *that Prince* and *that Family* to which he owed the highest Obligations.

Let me suppose another Person, whose Parts and Capacity will be as little disputed, as their having been always employed in *Baseness*, *Ingratitude*, and *Treachery*; ca-
res'd,

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refs'd, and promoted to an Employment of high Rank, by the *greatest General*, and *greatest Statesman* of their Time; on the first Occasion joining with their Enemies to procure their Downfal: For this *Merit* rewarded by the succeeding *Minister* with still a greater and more honourable Employment; scarce warm in that Employment, but projecting, and at last procuring, the *Disgrace* of his *new Patron*: Restored to the Liberty of breathing the Air of his native Country, and the Enjoyment of his Fortune (when he was deservedly an Exile from *one*, and had justly forfeited the *other*) by the *Indulgence*, *Favour* and *Assistance* of another *Minister*; using that *Indulgence*, and requiting that *Favour*, by labouring the Destruction of his *last Benefactor*: In the Service of the Prince who wore the Crown, a zealous *Jacobite*, and Agent of the *Pretender*;

Pretender; In the Service of the *Pretender*, a Spy, and Partizan of the Prince who then wore the Crown: In a forlorn State of Despair, abandon'd and discarded by *both*, suing at the same time for Mercy to *both*, at the Expence of *either*, with a natural Byass to serve that Prince *first* whom he had *last* abjured, and to distress and undermine him to whom he had *last* sworn Fidelity, and from whom he had received the *last* Obligation.

Let me then suppose *two such Persons, pares cum paribus*, whom a Sympathy of Nature had reconcil'd, and the predominant Principle of endeavouring to raise themselves upon the Ruin of their best Benefactors, had united in the strictest Friendship, Confidence and Intimacy, *joint Patriots*, and Advocates for Liberty, *Partners* in the glorious Work of reforming the
State,

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State, *Associates* in the great Work of demolishing (not *Dunkirk*, but) the *present Ministry*; *two inseparable Collegues*, ready to take upon them the Care of the Publick, as soon as it shall be put into their Hands. Let me, I say, suppose such Characters, and it is impossible to doubt but this *Dedication* must be due to them.

If *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men that set themselves up for the Guardians of our Liberties; if *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men who think *themselves* at liberty to vilify and abuse the rest of Mankind; if *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men who are daily preaching Sedition and Rebellion; if *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men who would fain be the Rulers of this Nation, and sacrifice the Welfare of the Kingdom, and even the King who sits upon the Throne,

to

viii *DEDICATION.*

to their own implacable Revenge,
and boundless Ambition: If such
Characters are to be met with; the
People of *Britain* will consider, whe-
ther 'tis worth while for their sakes
to distress or embroil their native
Country. But if no such Persons
are in Being, this Dedication is
thrown away, and it would be in
vain to subscribe myself,

GENTLEMEN,

Your Humble Servant, &c.





It may appear at first sight a very unnecessary Undertaking, to endeavour to shew the Unreasonableness of attempting to raise Sedition or Rebellion in the Kingdom, which might end in the Subversion of our present happy Establishment, at a Time when the Nation seems in perfect Tranquillity; when our Liberties are preserved sacred and entire; when no Plots at Home, or Invasion from Abroad seem to threaten us; and when the Spirit of *Jacobitism* seems to lie dormant in private Corners, till a more proper Season offers to exert itself. But as there is still a Spirit of Discontent endeavour'd to be kept up and somented, even in the midst of our Happiness and Tranquillity, by a few base and mercenary Incendiaries, I cannot think it improper, for those who in earnest wish well to this Government and this Nation, to endeavour to apply some

Antidotes to that secret Poison they are artfully infilling into more unthinking People, which might otherwise prove fatal, or at least highly prejudicial to the whole Body.

I have passed the greatest Part of the late long Vacation in a Country Retirement; in which Circumstance, the perusing the publick Prints, with which we abound, is an Amusement in which I believe most People find Entertainment; as it gives them some Notion of what is stirring in the active Part of the World, while they are enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Liberty, by the Labours of the Busy and the Great: And I can't help observing, that a Man must have a very bad Heart, who envies the Rewards, or hates the Persons of those to whom he is obliged for so invaluable Blessings.

Among the Papers I have constantly perused, are the *Craftsman* and *Fog's Journal*, those infamous Retailers of Lies, Scandal, Sedition, and Treason: At once the Demonstration and the Reproach of that unlimited Freedom we enjoy, and of the Lenity and Goodness of that King and that Government
which

which the Authors are hired to defame. If any of the worthy Authors may be offended at my supposing they are paid for their Labours, let this plead my Excuse, that I imagine it impossible for any Man who affects the Name of a Gentleman, to suffer such Obloquy and *Billingsgate* to drop from his Pen, as he would be ashamed should come from his Tongue, and afraid to utter before his Equals, and much more his Superiors.

I very freely own, that the Manner in which our present political Controversies are handled by the Writers on one Side, has been the chief Motive that induced me to give myself, or the Publick, this Trouble. And as the principal Arguments may be collected into a very narrow Compass, so the Eloquence and Reasoning employed upon them would have been very short, if those concerned in the Dispute would have confined themselves to Matters of Fact, and the true Interest of their Country.

A Man that acts upon honest and sincere Principles, who is in Reality, and not in Pretence only, a *Patriot*, reasons

on all publick Occasions with Calmness and Temper, expresses his Fears for the Commonwealth with Hopes that they are groundless, and is ready and desirous to be convinced that his Apprehensions were unnecessary. But it is the direct Reverse with the discontented, disappointed Zealot. The first Step he takes, is to vow Ruin and Destruction to one Man, or to a Set of Men in Power; and then to make use of any Arguments, any Reasons, any Means, any Artifice, to put his rash Vow in Execution. Truth or Falshood are to him Things indifferent, except as to their Tendency to the great Point he has in View. The Welfare or Ruin of his Country bears no Proportion in his Mind, to the Prosperity or Ruin of the Man he hates: He triumphs and rejoices in the midst of civil Discord; and the greatest Pain he is capable of feeling, is when he is sensible of the Peace, the Plenty, the Liberty his native Country enjoys, under the Influence or Administration of the Persons he dislikes.

I am sensible there is no one Man in *England*, how angry soever he may be with the present Ministry, will own the
Resem-

Resemblance of the Picture I have drawn; and I hope for this Advantage from it, that I shall incur no *modern Patriot's* Displeasure. Nay, I will have so much Charity even for the most inveterate of our modern Incendiaries, that I believe at first setting out, they did not design to have run the Lengths that Time and Despair have obliged them to do.

It is therefore very observable by what Steps they have gone on from one Degree of Iniquity to another, and how they gradually inured themselves to write, and the People to read, and endure such traiterous Falshoods, as at first setting out would have been odious and shocking to their Readers, and possibly even to themselves.

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus, was the Saying of a Man who lash'd the Follies and Vices of his Time with great Freedom and Acrimony, and yet he was willing to allow that Alleviation (if indeed it be such) to those whose Crimes he inveigh'd against with most Severity. I can never be convinc'd that any Men, whose Principles
and

and Education proclaimed them to be Whigs, and whose Actions for the first Part of their Lives confirmed that Opinion, could, on any Offence, Disappointment, or even ill Usage, resolve at once to throw themselves into the Arms of those they had opposed ; to renounce, vilify, and abuse, not only those particular Persons whom they profess to hate, but all their former Friends, Acquaintance, and Partizans ; to traduce and arraign the Majority of both Houses of Parliament, and by Lies, Insinuations, and odious *Parallels*, to endeavour to disturb and reflect on His Majesty and his Government, and, as much as in them lies, to alienate the Affections of the People from that Illustrious Family, which it is the Characteristick of their former Principles to support and defend. These things, I say, appear to me impossible to be the Effects of one stated Resolution ; and yet such *were* the profess'd Principles, and such *is* the notorious Practice of the renowned *Authors* of the *Craftsman*, and their open and secret *Patrons* and *Abettors*.

I know

I know very well this will be turn'd into Ridicule by the witty Reasoners of this Age. What! is all this Bustle about the paultry Authors of a two-penny Paper? Are Mr. *Fog*, and Mr. *D'anvers*, such dangerous Enemies to the State? Can They raise Discontents and Sedition, overturn His Majesty's Government, or alienate the People's Affection from His Family? Poor must be the Strength of that Government, and small must be the Affection of that People, which such petty Scribblers have Power to weaken! This I know *will* be said: This I know *has* been said. But this give me leave to say in Answer; Poor is the Defence this Sarcaſm ſupplies, to ſuch as ſpeak and act in conformity to what *theſe Scribblers* write. A Body of Men, or the Place they meet in, may be ſo ſacred as to render it improper, if not unſafe, to reflect on, or even to repreſent what paſſes there; and yet a Concurrence of Sentiments of a few amongſt them may ſo far dignify theſe Weekly *Incendiaries*, as to render them worthy of Notice: Nay, I am even apprehenſive that Mr. *Oldcaſtle* and *John Trott*, will be

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offended

offended at this Excuse, and that the Appellations of *paultry Authors*, and *petty Scribblers*, will be resented by both.

Tho' these Papers, being industriously dispersed throughout the Kingdom, are, and have been, of very pernicious Consequence, by impudently asserting Falshoods, fomenting Discontents, and instilling groundless and malicious Insinuations into the Minds of unthinking People; especially in remote Parts, where the Opportunities of better Information are wanting; yet, I own, I thought there needed some Apology for taking this Notice of them. Raking in the Dirt, and even removing the Filth they have thrown, is a Task that must be nauseous to any Man that attempts it: And whoever does, runs the Hazard of being sullied himself: But when Gentlemen of Figure and Fortune think fit to patronize and concur in the dirty Work of these Fellows; when they are determined to be taken notice of at any rate, and can find no better way than that of bespatt'ring their Neighbours without Distinction, it in some degree justifies the Under-

Undertaking, tho' nothing can render it agreeable.

I shall therefore proceed to consider the Methods made use of to destroy the present Ministry. It was far from being proper to that Purpose to enter coolly into the Debate of the Reasons and Motives for the several Steps taken by the Government, with regard to the publick Affairs of *Europe*. The Interests of Nations, the Cabals of foreign Courts, the Intricacies of Treaties, and the political Secret or remote Views of other Powers, are of too dry and too abstruse a Nature for their Purpose. The Generality of the People, especially of the inferior sort, seldom enter deeply into Debates of that Nature; or, if they did, have not Opportunity or Capacity to judge so nicely of them, as to engage warmly on a Subject so remote from their usual Employment and way of thinking. While they enjoyed Peace, Liberty, and Plenty, it would be difficult for the most refined Reasoner, or most accomplish'd Author, to inflame them against the Administration, to stir them up against their Representatives, to induce them

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to

to revile the whole Legislature, or to incite them to Sedition or Rebellion against His Majesty, from whose Goodness, Candor, and Wisdom, they receive all their Blessings. Recourse therefore must be had to other Methods: Every little unavoidable Inconvenience must be aggravated and doubled, every Success either totally deny'd, or lessen'd and ridicul'd: Jealousies and Suspicions must first be invented and raised, and then published and cultivated as sacred Truths: The Ministers must be accused of every Crime that the Heart of Man can invent, and compared to every Traytor that this or any other Country ever produced: The Majority of the House of Commons must be describ'd as a Pack of Mercenaries; the whole Bench of Bishops must be stigmatiz'd as Enemies to all Virtue Moral and Divine; nay, the entire Nobility in a Lump devoted to Destruction; the best of Queens must be vilify'd and traduced by these infamous Libellers; and, to compleat their Villany, the sacred Majesty of the King himself must be insulted, and the Histories of Sedition, Rebellion, Deposition, and Murder, set before Him as Terrors and Examples.

After

After having given this Abstract of the worthy Labours of our modern Incendiaries, I think I need not add, that thro' the whole Course of their Performances, there must not be the least Regard to Truth, unless in such Instances where it should be carefully avoided. An impudent Face must pass for the Evidence of an honest Heart, a bold Assertion supply the want of Matter of Fact, and a saucy Repetition of the same Falshood be imposed as an undoubted Proof of Veracity.

From these Maxims it is that I conclude, That if these Observations are thought worthy of an Answer, it will consist chiefly in a steddly, positive Denial, that these Accusations are true. I shall therefore, as far as I can recollect (not having by me any Collection) from this Load of Infamy and Scandal, give a few Instances of the several Heads above-mention'd. And if I should be called upon to quote Chapter and Verse, I may perhaps endeavour to prevail on a *Jacobite* Neighbour of mine, to procure me a compleat Set of those traitorous Libels from Mr. *Fog* and Mr. *Franklin*, for that Purpose.

The first thing therefore I shall take notice of, is, the Pains taken to aggravate every Inconvenience, tho' they are such as must unavoidably attend all Governments, and which no human Prudence can entirely prevent. In the first place, by daily inveighing against the Load of Taxes which they say the Nation lies under, and by constant, unwearied Endeavours, striving to make the Populace uneasy, even at the necessary Provisions for the annual Support of the State. The Debt incurr'd for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties, from the Revolution to this Day, is insinuated as a Charge against the present Government ; and in a Pamphlet published some time since, and still highly extolled, is asserted to be increased, instead of diminished, even since the Establishment of the Sinking Fund. How the *former* Part of the Charge can be supported, I own my self to be at a Loss to understand ; and I think it so absurd, as to be impossible to do the Mischief intended : As to the *latter*, the Falsity has been so notoriously made appear, upon an accidental Occurrence in the House of Commons, soon after the Publication

lication of that Libel, that I shall take no farther Notice of it, except to make this one Observation: That the Author appears to me very imprudent, by having inserted at the end of his most egregious Performance, a List of the several Taxes from the Year 1688; a Period of Time remembered with too much Gratitude and Affection by every honest *Englishman*, to deserve a Reflection, or an invidious Comparison with the preceding Times of Tyranny and Oppression. He that would do Mischief, must pretend at least to be a Friend to our present happy Establishment; and if the Author of that Libel be one, he is the only one that ever was so, and at the same time could asperse the *Glorious Memory* of our GREAT DELIVERER KING WILLIAM, by a dirty Insinuation of the Grievousness of those Taxes *He* was unwillingly obliged to ask of this Nation, for their own Welfare and Support.

The next Misfortune to be aggravated and improved, is Losses sustained by our Merchants in the *West Indies*. This is indeed a Misfortune, and such a one as every Inhabitant of *Great Britain* is concerned in. The Merchant does not
only

only trade for his own Profit, but for that of the Nation; and every Individual who gains but Ten Pounds for himself, is so far a Contributor to the Riches of the Kingdom. In this Light the Loss of each Ship is a national Concern, and, as such, it appears it was considered in our late Treaty with *Spain*. All the Provision is there made for Redress, that the Nature of the Thing is capable of at present; which I venture to say, because I have asked the most zealous Advocates for the Sufferers, what better Stipulations they could propose, and never heard any mentioned. I have indeed heard a Precedent quoted, of shutting up Commissaries without Victuals, Fire, or Candle, but I presume not as a Proposal to be comply'd with. This is indeed a Misfortune to be lamented, complain'd of, and, if possible, to be redressed; but, at the same Time, not to be aggravated, exaggerated, and made a Handle for Clamour, and unreasonable Discontent. An Application to His Majesty from the Persons injured, that Care might be taken of them in the Treaty, would not only have been very proper, but could not have fail'd both of a gracious Answer, and a due Regard, from
such

such a Sovereign. A Petition to the Representatives of the People, to strengthen the King's Hands on this Occasion, might likewise be very becoming; and when such a one was delivered, an Address was made to the Crown in consequence of it. These are Methods becoming an honest *Englishman*, and such as no one can find Fault with. But tho' these may be sufficient for the honest unfortunate Trader, they are not so for the Factious and Discontented. To accomplish their Ends, the Loss of every Ship must be charged as a fresh Crime on the Administration; while *Spain* is at Variance with us, we must be accused as the Aggressors, and having provoked them to do us Mischief; from the Moment they are in *Amity* with the *Nation*, they become the *Enemies* of the *Faction*, and their Guilt is unpardonable. Our real Losses are not sufficient to raise such a Clamour of themselves, as is necessary for their Purpose; so the Eloquence of Mr. H——s must be employed in every Coffee-house in the City, to display them in their most odious Colours: The Losses of late Years are not a sufficient Load for the present Administration, so a List must be composed of every Vessel taken
from

from the signing the Peace of *Utrecht* to this Day, in Peace or in War, by Pyrate or *Guarde de Costa*, fair Trader or Smugler, and all must be placed to the Account of the present Ministry. Satisfaction to the Merchant is the least Thing *they* were anxious for ; *that* would put an End to Clamour and Discontent ; and their only Hope at present, is a Failure in the punctual Observation of the Articles for that Purpose.

These are the only real Inconveniencies or Misfortunes that I can recollect, as charged to the Account of the present *Ministers* since the *Hanover* Succession took Place : For I presume the Rebellion in the Beginning of the late Reign, and the necessary Expence in suppressing it, will not be brought to their Account. Besides, the chief of the *Faction* were then *Whigs*, and consequently Friends to this Royal Family ; what they are at present, let *them* explain ; 'tis difficult to do it from their Actions.

From these Inconveniencies therefore, fewer and less considerable than ever attended this Nation for so long a Series of Time, as since his late Majesty's Accession,
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it appeared difficult, it has proved vain to attempt the Destruction of the Ministers, the only Point in View. However, still to contribute toward it, any Success that may have attended their Counsels, must be lessened and depretiated. The Peace and Tranquility these Nations have enjoyed during so long a Period of Time, the flourishing State of our Trade in general, except with some small Interruption, the Increase of Riches to the Nation, which appears indisputably from the low Interest of Money, and the prosperous State of publick Credit, are so far from being Matters of Joy and Gratitude, that some are impudently denied, and others represented as the Effects of Pusillanimity, and inglorious to the Nation. Loss of Trade, Difficulties in Credit, and a State of War and Confusion, are the Waters these pretended *Patriots* want to fish in: These they hoped by their pious Endeavours to have made their Harvest; and their Disappointment has driven them to that Degree of Madness, as to deny at Noon-day our Enjoyment of the contrary Blessings. The Suppression of the *Ostend* Company, so highly detrimental to our *East India* Trade, has pro-

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voked

voked them to so high a Degree of Indignation, that after having in vain attempted for a Year or two to support the *Emperor's* Right to establish such a Company, now *that* no longer subsists, the Edge of their Reasoning is turned to the Destruction of our *own*, contrary to the Faith of *Acts of Parliament*, and to the apparent *Hazard* at least, if not the certain *Ruin* of that beneficial Branch of our Commerce. Nay, so inveterate is their Malice, not only to the Ministers, but to every Body of Men, who are either by their Inclination or Interest attach'd to the Support of our happy Establishment, that scarce a Winter passes without some odious Reflections and bitter Invectives against the BANK of *England* itself; a Body of Men, to whose Care and Prudence in their own Affairs, as well as their unshaken Attachment to the true Interest of their Country, and ready Assistance on all proper Emergencies, I have ever thought the Happiness and Prosperity of this Nation in a great Measure owing. And to this, and this only, can they owe the Malice of these Incendiaries. Nor have the Proprietors of *South-Sea Stock* escaped the like Invectives; 'tis Crime enough in them to

be *Creditors* to this Government, and consequently to depend upon its Security. This must render these great Bodies Friends to the Peace and Tranquillity of the State, and consequently the Factious and Seditious must be Enemies to them. Tho' as to the last of these Bodies, I mean the *South-Sea Company*, the Incendiaries of late seem to make some Overtures of Reconciliation, on a glimmering of Hope, that by their Means, and with great Industry and Pains, some new unhappy Difference may possibly be brought about between this Nation and our Allies the *Spaniards*. So willing are they to catch at every Twig, that may preserve their poor Spirits from sinking.

Thus far the *Faction* has labour'd in vain. The Ministers still subsist, and no Vacancies are made for their Successors. This cavilling about foreign Politicks, and these unavoidable Inconveniencies have not inflamed the People to call out for a Change of Government ; therefore some domestick Grievance must be found out, that may more sensibly affect them. But here is the Difficulty. No such Grievance is really to be found, nor is it easy to invent such a one, as shall gain sufficient Regard, to be of any Service,

in Contradiction to the Senses and daily Experience of those who must be made to believe it. His Majesty has graciously declared, that *he will make the Laws of the Land the Measure of his Government.* His Majesty's known Character gives undoubted Sanction to his Word; and the Experience we have had of his Goodness and Justice in this Particular, makes it traiterous to doubt it. What then is to be done? At length this noble Expedient is invented. First, to write and publish seditious and traiterous Libels against the Government, and His Majesty himself, which must necessarily draw down a *just* and *legal* Prosecution of the Authors and Publishers; and then to complain of that just and necessary Prosecution, as an Infringement of the *Liberty of the Press*, and the Right of every *Englishman*. A Design to restrain the Freedom of Writing by some new Law, must first be affirmed as Fact, and then represented as a Grievance: This imaginary *Design* of a Grievance, enlarged into a Breach of MAGNA CHARTA; and this *imaginary Breach* of *Magna Charta*, is made a real Handle to encourage Sedition and Rebellion. But, alas! the Design lives not but in their own Brains.

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The Government is not so weak, as to want so extraordinary a Remedy.

I must now take notice of the scurrilous Language, and groundless Aspersions with which these Incendiaries have endeavoured to defame the Ministers. But I presume I shall not be call'd upon for particular Instances to support this Fact: To do that effectually, would be to transcribe their whole Labours for some Years past. Examine every Libel, let the Subject be never so remote, and you may be sure of meeting some *odious Epithet* tack'd to the Word *Minister*, to season the Flatness of the Discourse, and give a Relish agreeable to the Palate of those *who are to pay for the Dispersing of the Poison*. Nor is it at all thought necessary that these *Billingsgate* Appellations should be consistent with each other, much less founded in Truth, or even Probability. Names must be called, no matter what; but the more the better. One Name of Reproach may affect a Reader of *one* kind, and another of *another*. And by the Help of this universal Catalogue of Slander, no Man can want a proper Appellation to stigmatize

matize the Person he wishes to abuse. Thus, *avaritious* and *expensive*, *enterprising* and *cowardly*, *bold* and *fearful*, *ignorant* and *cunning*, seem to be at first sight somewhat inconsistent and contradictory; and yet, by a little Artifice, and a great deal of Impudence, they are all made to centre in the same Person. But the *two* favourite Epithets of the whole Collection are CORRUPT and BLUNDERING; and as they are so often repeated, deserve a little more particular Regard.

I believe no body will deny that for some time past, there has not been wanting a hearty Good-will, utterly to disgrace and destroy those Ministers who are thus abused. It will likewise be readily granted, that among those who wish their Destruction, *nay, and have vowed it too*, there are not wanting Men of great Parts and Abilities, versed in the Ways of Business, acquainted with Courts, and not ignorant of Mankind. Can it then be doubted that they are at a loss for the most speedy and effectual Method to accomplish their Designs? Can they have a Doubt within themselves, that one or more apparent Proofs of this

heavy

heavy Charge of *universal Corruption*, would contribute more to the attaining of their Ends, than Volumes of Papers, or the most labour'd Harangues without it can possibly do? Can they be so ignorant of His Majesty's own Honour and Integrity, as to doubt that such a Proof is the readiest Way to remove the Ministers from His Favour? Or can they believe, that He is so weak, or any Number of Men so credulous, as to be convinced without it? What then must every impartial Man think of this Charge! He must immediately conclude it proceeds from Malice, and is a groundless Slander.

All that I have ever heard alledg'd in Excuse for not producing any Evidence to support this Accusation, is, That the Times are improper; that those who ought to remedy this Evil are Sharers in the Guilt, and those who ought to cure the Disease, are themselves infected with the Distemper. Poor and low is this Subterfuge! Bold and daring is the Insinuation! His Majesty can remedy this Evil were he convinced of the Truth: Is he therefore such a Sharer in the Guilt of his Servants, that these *honest,*
honest

honest J A G O's dare not acquaint Him with their Crimes? This with one Voice they will disclaim: And yet with an Assurance little inferior, affect to lay it at the door of the Body of the Legislature; traducing at once a Number of Peers and Gentlemen, much their Superiors, and Betters, in the Eyes of all the World, but their own.

Now let me ask, What is the Mischief could attend these Accusers, were the *Accusation proved*, and the Accused *unjustly acquitted*, according to their invidious Insinuation? None certainly. This *they know*; and from this *we know*, that their Excuse is false, and their Accusation groundless. What then must those *Incendiaries* be, who without Foundation, and without *Remorse*, go on thus to vilify and abuse, not the Ministers only, but the whole Legislature? He that calls another a *Villain*, ought to be ready to prove it, or the Scandal will recoil. He that can bring Proof of a Crime against the State, and conceals it, is guilty of *Misprision* at least of the same Offence: If he knows it, he ought to declare it; but if he knows it not, and yet proclaims it as Fact, he is

a *false Slanderer*, and, as such, the Pest of Society.

The other Epithet which I have engaged to take particular Notice of, as being of late inseparable from the Word *Minister*, is BLUNDERING: And I own it fills me with Astonishment, when I consider how very low human Nature may be reduced by the Effects of Rage and Despair. How far the Principles of Honour may engage some Men not to blast the Reputation of others with whom they have lived in Friendship, I will not determine; in that Case some Regard ought to be shewn to their own Character, lest the World should imagine they had formerly been Sharers in the Guilt of those with whom they lived in Amity: But if this could be got over, yet every Man is fond of his own Understanding; and I should imagine, for the sake of that, would be unwilling to own that he had been the profess'd *Friend* and FOLLOWER of a Fool or a Block-head. For how long a Term of Years have these Railers been proud of fighting under the Banners of those they now traduce? And would they now

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persuade the World they are able to instruct their Masters? Men may be deceived in the Choice of their Friends; but 'tis hard to determine him immediately to be a *Fool*, some of whose Dependants may prove to be *Knaves*. And yet *this* is the *only* Instance by which they can pretend to verify their Imputation. In short, it would be as impertinent a Piece of Flattery in me, to attempt to vindicate the Understanding of those they thus abuse, as it is superlative Assurance in them to endeavour to lessen it, in Contradiction to their *own Knowledge*, and that of all the World: They may swell, if they please, like the Toad in the Fable, but will find no more Compassion from Mankind when they burst, than the poisonous Animal they resemble.

I should now take some notice of that private Scandal, and personal Abuse, in which they have dealt so largely, and so infamously, not only with Regard to Persons in high Stations, but some of inferior Rank and Degree: But as *Bil-linggate* of that Nature, puts the Person that uses it on a Level with a Porter, he ought to be despised as such; and the
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threshing a Printer adds but little Credit to the Character of a Gentleman.

The Attacks against the Ministers being still ineffectual, their Opponents are reduced to consider how it happens, that these ignorant *Blunderers* have been able to stand their Ground, against the Opposition of such able and inflexible Politicians as themselves. At last, with much Labour and Study they discovered, that the Two Houses of Parliament are Friends to the present Establishment, approve the Measures which his late and present Majesty have pursued, and don't pay that Deference and Regard they ought to do to these accomplish'd Statesmen. Since therefore they can't prevail with the Representatives of the People to distress the King, they must endeavour to inflame the People against their Representatives. In order to this they have pitch'd upon two Expedients, one of them ridiculous and absurd, and the other base and unmannerly. Can the Electors of *Great Britain* take it as a Compliment to be told, they have chosen Persons whose Principles they dislike, from mercenary Views and private Advantages? Or will they not rather think

it shameful that *they* must be abused, because the Gentlemen they have chosen, are not mean and weak enough to assist in carrying on the mercenary Views, and private Advantages of these ambitious Revilers? How short-liv'd were the Hopes of Mr. *D'anvers*, when he flatter'd himself with the Disappointment those Gentlemen would meet with, whom His Majesty honour'd with Marks of His Favour at the End of last Session? The unanimous Voice of their Electors restored them to the Capacity of serving their Country in Parliament, and consequently of rendering the most acceptable Service that can be shewn to such a King, by contributing their Endeavours for the Good of his People.

This brings me to the next Expedient, which is to make the Representatives odious, by insinuating that they are as mercenary and corrupt, as they before described their Electors. And this from one single Reason, because some of those who are thought worthy by the People to take the Charge of their Welfare in *Parliament*, are likewise thought worthy by their Prince to be trusted with some Share of the Civil Govern-

Government, to which Profit may be annex'd. How base is this Maxim, how false is the Conclusion ! Is our Commonwealth so formed, that the Service of the King and of the People is inconsistent ? Is the Throne filled with such a Prince, that obeying His Commands, and protecting the Liberty of the Subject are incompatible ? Or should that ever be the Case, which it is almost infamous even to suppose, what Inducement have these Incendiaries to imagine, that Men of Honour would sacrifice the Liberties of those they represent, to little transitory Advantages for themselves ? But alas ! Men are too apt to judge of others by the Experience of the Dictates of their own base Hearts. If then there any such, who appeared zealous in the Cause of Liberty with Expectation of Reward ; if they pursued the same Course while they enjoyed the Sunshine of the Court ; if the Price of the Continuance of the same Zeal be notoriously known, and *that* being refused, if the Experience of their Actions, in Contradiction to the whole Tenor of their former Lives, explains the Reason of their former Behaviour ; if there be any such, it is not to be wonder'd

der'd that they should labour to bring down the rest of Mankind to the Level of their own Infamy. Till when, they must be content to undergo the Contempt and Scorn of the old Friends they have forsaken, and be made the Ridicule, as well as the Tools, of the new ones they would fain engage.

Having thus endeavour'd to blast the Honour of the House of Commons, these *Incendiaries* proceed to the other Branch of the Legislature. But here the *Pack* of *Judges*, as they are civilly pleased to call them, must be attacked by the way; and the *Bench* of *Bishops* must be singled from the rest of that noble Body, to receive particular Marks of their Resentment. Nor need any Man be at a loss for the Reasons of this Procedure, who considers the uniform Tenor of all their Actions. As the foreign *Enemies* of the *State* have been all along the *Favourites* of the *Faction*, and the *Allies* of this *Nation* been treated as *their Enemies*; so, to be conformable in domestick Affairs, they have ever shown their greatest Malice against such as are the chief Ornaments of their Profession, and do the most Credit to the Stations
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they possess. Thus their Rage against the Judges proceeds from their Anger, that the known Abilities of those who now fill the Bench, their great Experience in the Laws, and their just and equitable Execution of them, give not the least room for complaining of Oppression, and consequently no Handle to the Incendiaries to encourage Sedition. From the like Foundation proceeds their Displeasure against the Bench of Bishops; as their Learning and Piety give no room to complain of the Choice their late and present Majesties have made in their Promotion, so the steady Affection they have shewn to the State, leaves the Faction no Hopes of Clamour and Sedition from that Quarter, which has formerly been so serviceable on the like Occasions. Nor does their Malice stop here; but as the Authors of the *Craftsman* have recommended to the People, to follow the Precedent that was put in Practice against the *De Wits* in *Holland*, by assassinating our Ministers here; so their Fellow-labourer *Fog* has given the like infamous Advice with regard to the whole Body of the Peerage. Thus have these *Incendiaries*, in a most flagitious manner, endeavour'd to incite others,

others, as profligate as themselves, to destroy the Persons of those, whose Reputations they have with so much Zeal, but with so little Success, attempted to murder.

While the Factious went on in practising the little Arts of antiquated Prudes, and endeavoured to establish a Reputation of their own, by destroying that of all their Friends and Acquaintance; the natural Curiosity of Mankind, and the Bent we may observe in most People to desire to see their Superiors of any Kind reduced to a Level with themselves, made these Libels be read with some degree of Patience. That Great and Good Man, *Lord Chief Justice HALE*, on the Loss of some of his Children, when he was himself in a very advanced Age, observed, with great Patience and Humility, that such Losses are *Fines* Mankind must pay to Heaven for the Blessing of long Life: And we may with as great Justice pronounce, that *Obloquy* and *Slunder*, *Envy* and *Malice*, are the Evils which Ministers must endure, as necessary Attendants of a long Series of Favour and Prosperity. As such they consider'd them, and as
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such they despised them. It is not the Accusation, but the Truth of it, which gives the Wound ; and an innocent Man feels no more Pain from the publishing a false Slander, than the Slanderer gains Credit by inventing the Falshood.

Thus these *Libels* were tolerated and endured ; the Envious and the Malicious read them with Pleasure, the Indolent and Unwary with Patience. The Professions of Loyalty to the King, and Attachment to his illustrious House, might for a while impose on the giddy Multitude ; and the secret, villanous Designs of these *Incendiaries* pass undiscovered. Men might consider the Controversy as a Dispute between private Persons for Power, tho' even that was carried on in a shameful and ungentleman-like manner. But now the thin Veil of Loyalty is thrown off, and Sedition and Treason stalk abroad in their own odious Colours, Men begin to be astonished how they could thus long have been deceived with idle Pretences to *Patriotism* and the *Love of Liberty* ; when they see the Reigns of the worst of Tyrants, produced as *Parallels* to the best of Kings ; when they see the Arts

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of Peace represented as the Effects of Pusillanimity, tho' practis'd merely for the Welfare of his People, by a Prince distinguished throughout *Europe* for his military Virtue; when they see the Struggles our Ancestors have made for their Liberties by Force of Arms, against the Usurpations of arbitrary Tyrants, recommended as Examples for our Imitation, against a Prince who knows no Fear but that of injuring the least of his Subjects; when they see the Reigns of the weakest of our Princes compared to that of His present Majesty, who hears indeed the Advice of his Ministers, but whose own Judgment can best chuse, and whose own Heart is most strongly inclined to follow that which is most for the Ease and Welfare of his People; when this King is threatened with Sedition and Rebellion, unless he forthwith discharges those Councillors he at present trusts, and whom he has ever found faithful, in order to place the *Patrons* of those Incendiaries in their room; when these Things appear flagrant, and are obvious to the meanest Capacities, Mankind are shock'd, not only at the Impiety, but Impudence of these abandon'd *Pretenders* to superior Virtue.

Virtue. Even the Envious and Malicious begin to fear what may be their Share of the Miseries these Wretches are labouring to bring upon their Country; the Curious and Inquisitive are no longer at a Loss to find out their Designs, and consequently no longer believe their groundless Insinuations; the Honest, the Indolent, and the Unwary, are roused from their Security, and a just Indignation makes them concerned that our excellent Laws should prove a Sanctuary for these artful Revilers, and hypocritical Dispersers of Treason.

One Set of Men indeed there are among us, who rejoice in the Treason, tho' they despise the Traytors; their drooping Spirits are again revived; those who were before despised and almost forgotten, who were in their own Country as Strangers and Vagabonds in a foreign Land, after many fruitless Struggles to subject their Country to a strange and vagabond Prince, begin again to triumph and exult; and to their usual Impatience and imprudent Zeal, I am verily persuaded it is we owe the immature Discovery of the secret Engagements these pretended *Patriots* must have en-

ter'd into. The Assistance of the *Jacobites* must be made use of by them, to mount those Heights which their boundless Ambition prompted them to climb; but that Assistance was not to be had, till the *Rubicon* was pass'd, and their Retreat made impracticable. The *Jacobites* refused to receive these *Incendiaries* or their *Patrons*, as *their new and firm Allies*, till they had given convincing Proofs, (to use an Epithet of the *Craftsman*) that they were *not so far GERMANIZED*, as to submit any longer to that Family, whom they treat as *Tyrants and Usurpers*.

As Prudence ought to have restrained these *Incendiaries* from vilifying their lawful Sovereign, so ought Shame to forbid them insulting and calumniating the best of Queens: But as the whole Tenor of their Conduct must have convinced the World how little Share they have of the former, so this barbarous part of their Proceeding, has shewn, to a Demonstration, how entirely lost they must be to all Sense of the latter. Their Behaviour in this Respect is indeed shocking, but very far from surprizing. Can *they* be touch'd with her exalted Piety
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in refusing the Grandeur of this World for the sake of true Religion, who have sacrificed all the Ties of Honour and Conscience to their own boundless Ambition? Can *they* be Admirers of her social Virtues, and inviolable conjugal Affection, who have renounced the Welfare of the Society they live in, and the most sacred Bonds of Friendship? Can *they* look with Pleasure on her maternal Love, and pious Care in the Education of her numerous Offspring, who are themselves regardless of the Welfare of their own, provided they can satisfy their immediate Thirst of Power or of Revenge? In fine, can *they* who are thus labouring to disturb the Reign, and destroy the Quiet of their King, bear with Patience, that the least Regard should be shewn to Her Majesty, whose Interest as well as Inclination must necessarily bind her to contribute her Endeavours to make the Crown sit easy on his Head, whose Image she wears in her Heart, and to transmit it with Safety and Honour to their joint Posterity.

After these Reflections on the extraordinary Methods by which these Disputes have been carried on, I will only say

say a Word or two as to what these *Libellers* alledge in their own Vindication; and I think they offer but two Arguments for that Purpose: The first is, That the Spirit of Liberty, which they profess, and the glorious Struggles to preserve that Liberty in former Ages, are the Things to which we owe our present Felicity, and therefore proper to be recommended at this Time. The second, which they alledge in Justification of the personal Insults and Invectives against particular Persons, is drawn from the Examples of former Pamphleteers, of which Number they sometimes intimate the Persons they traduce to have been a Part.

As to the first Argument they produce, it cannot be denied but that the Spirit of Liberty is the distinguishing Characteristick of a TRUE BRITON, and to that we owe the superior Advantages this Nation enjoys above all the Kingdoms of the Earth. But there is a wide Difference between the Spirit of *Liberty* and the Spirit of *Sedition*. One is indeed jealous of the least Invasion of our civil or religious Rights, and ready on all Occasions to exert with Courage and Vi-

Vigor against all Attempts to subvert and destroy them : But tho' she be thus bold in Times of Danger, she is of a meek and quiet Disposition, while we enjoy those Blessings in Peace and Tranquility ; submissive to the Laws of the Land, and obedient and thankful to the Prince, by whose Goodness and Wisdom these Blessings are secured. On the other hand, the Spirit of Sedition is ever suspicious and uneasy without Cause, loud and clamorous in the midst of Peace and Prosperity ; pays an unwilling Obedience to the Laws, and is never so unhappy as when she can have no Pretence to murmur against the Prince : The Man possess'd with this Spirit, must needs be unhappy, while he has no Relish of the Blessings he enjoys himself, under an Apprehension that his Neighbour is greater and happier than he. The Distinction that has been frequently made between a Man of true Honour and a Bully, seems very apposite on this Occasion. The *Man of Honour* is incapable of bearing to be insulted, but is not like the *Bully*, apprehensive of it from every Man he meets : He is conscious of his own inward Courage on a proper Occasion, and this renders him peaceable and

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quiet in Company, without bragging of his Prowess; he is ready and willing to resent an undeserved Affront, but is studious and careful to avoid deserving it, by a turbulent and unmannerly Behaviour; and tho' he be never so skilful in the Management of his Sword, yet he lets it lie quiet in the Scabbard, till his King, his Country, or his Honour demand it, and does not make a Flourish at the Corner of every Street, like one of the Heroes of *Figg's* Amphitheatre.

The glorious Struggles for Liberty which we read of in our Histories, will ever be remember'd with Honour to the Persons concerned in them, and with Pleasure by all those who enjoy the happy Consequences of them as they ought. But tho' on proper Occasions, it may be necessary to use so harsh a Remedy, yet 'tis the Occasion only can justify the Prescription. A nauseous Draught, or an acute Operation, may be absolutely requisite in a dangerous Distemper; and the Physician, who by these Means restores his Patient to his former Health of Constitution, will ever be remember'd with Gratitude and Esteem: But it would
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be difficult for a Quack, who acts like a Monkey, merely from Imitation, to prevail upon any Person in perfect Health, to receive his daily Food out of an Apothecary's Shop, and be cupp'd and scarify'd every Morning, by way of Prevention. No Man in *Britain* is more sensible of the Blessings we enjoy in consequence of the late glorious Revolution, or is more thankful to that Providence, and those noble Patriots by whom it was effected, than myself: But I am far from thinking him a *Patriot* who desires *another Revolution*; and that *he* certainly does, who attempts to raise Discontent, Sedition, and Rebellion, at a Time when we are blessed with the full Enjoyment of our Civil and religious Liberties, under a Prince who owes his Title to that glorious Event, and gives us daily Cause to shew our Gratitude, not only to himself, but to the Memory of our late IMMORTAL DELIVERER.

Whoever reads the History of *England*, will find we have had many Struggles, and much Bloodshed, which cannot be placed to the Account of a *Spirit* of Liberty: Where Power was contended

tended for more than Property, and the Dilpute was who should oppress, rather than who should relieve their Countrymen from Oppression. Such were the Contests between the Houses of *York* and *Launcaster*; and such were many of the Struggles in former Ages, which took their Rise from the Disappointment, Ambition, and Revenge, of some of the powerful and haughty Nobles of those Days. If any Struggles then are to be recommended, I would be glad to know of what Nature those are, the Authors of the *Craftsman* would propose for our Imitation: It cannot be any of those glorious ones in behalf of Liberty, for *that* we enjoy in the highest Degree: Those about a contested Title to the Crown, whatever their real Wishes may be, I am apt to believe they will be very cautious how they recommend: And as to the last of those I mentioned, I can never believe there is Vanity enough in any one Man, or any Set of Men, to imagine that the good People of *England* would stir a little Finger in order to make a Struggle to gratify the Ambition or Revenge of the most haughty among them. The *Strugglers* of former

mer Days were not only *haughty*, but noble, and powerful; great in their Descent, their Alliances, and Possessions; a kind of petty Princes themselves, whose Tenants and Vassals were obliged by their Tenures to attend their Persons, and obey their Commands, without enquiring into the Motives: But, Thanks be to God, the Nature of those Tenures is now at an End, and every *Briton* may call what he has his own, without that slavish Dependance on the Caprice of another. Since therefore the Noble and the Powerful are out of the Question, and Wit and Parts are their only Weapons and Defence, I would advise the Authors of the *Craftsman*, not to expect too many Followers of the Haughty, the Ambitious, and the Revengeful. And I cannot frame to myself a more ridiculous Idea, than to see the *Wat Tylers* and *Jack Straws* of our Days, strutting and swelling till they fancy they resemble the *Northumberland*s and *Warwicks* of old, and that they can, like them, make and unmake Kings at their Pleasure.

I now proceed to the other Argument they use in Justification of personal

sonal Insults, and private Scandal, which they draw from the Example of former Pamphleteers. I allow, that in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James* the *Second*, great Liberties were taken with the Persons in Power, and even with the Prince on the Throne: Nay, even at the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, the Pamphlets abounded in very great Freedoms with regard to her Ministers: But those Freedoms extended no farther than to the Measures they pursu'd, and sprung from the just Dread and Apprehensions the People of *England* were under of the Ruin that was coming upon them. When the Fears of Popery and arbitrary Power were so strong, it was no Wonder the Expressions of those who were endeavouring to alarm the People, and encourage them to resist their Enslavers, were strong in Proportion to the Danger. Thanks be to God, it had its Effect, and the People had the Courage to oppose the Tyrant, and bring about the Revolution. But the Authors of the *Craftsman* must first shew the *like Cause* of Apprehension, and own the *like Design*, before they will be justify'd by what passed in *those* Reigns, for having
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in a more outrageous manner calumniated *this*. In the latter End of Queen *Anne's* Reign the same dreadful Apprehensions arose; and I believe there is hardly a Man that remembers those Times, but is convinced there was as much Foundation for them: Then again the *Spirit* of Liberty arose, and those who were endeavouring to destroy us were treated as our Destroyers. But the *Craftsman* must again shew the Parallel, or go without his Justification. To my Apprehension it seems the Reverse; and as the Pamphleteers of those Days endeavoured to alarm the People from the Danger they were in lest the *Hanover Succession* should not take place, the Labours of the *Craftsman* appear to be all pointed to convince them that they cannot be worse than now *that Succession* has happily taken place. But having said thus much partly by way of Defence, or rather Excuse, for the Freedoms that have been formerly taken, I think I may venture to say, that I could undertake to produce more scurrilous Language, more private Scandal, and more ungentleman-like Abuse, out of the Libels of the Three or Four last Years, than can possibly be shewn

shewn in all the polemical Writings of the three Reigns I have mention'd.

And this being the Case, I beg Leave to say a word or two of what I take to be the real Cause of this different Manner of treating political Controversies. It has been long the Misfortune of this Nation to be divided into Parties, which have been at Variance with each other on account of some Principles; each of which have been all along represented by the other in the most invidious Lights. And as most of the political Disputes have been managed by those who thus differ'd; so most of the Satire and Reflection has been levelled at the opposite Party, and their Tenets in *general*, rather than at the Persons or Crimes of *particular* Men. But the Case at present is widely different: Our modern Disputes have arisen, and been managed by those, who, publickly at least, profess the same Principles with those they oppose, and consequently can have no Dislike to them on that account. What then must they do to justify their Opposition? Their private Motives are perhaps unfit to be mentioned, or perhaps would not redound
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to their Honour : and thus a fatal Necessity has driven them into a Method, which I am persuaded many of them dislike in their Hearts; and they are forced by personal Abuse, and private Scandal, to justify their differing, not only from their former Friends, but from their own former Conduct and Behaviour: And I can't help pitying the Case of a Man of Sense, who is reduced so low, as to be capable of so much Meanness, as to mention on any Occasion the Loss of a *Tooth*, or an ungentle *Cock* of a *Hut*, as an Objection to a Minister.

This Proceeding may be treated with Pity or Contempt; but when these Incendiaries are grown so audacious to go farther, and justify their own Conduct by Insults and Reflections on their Prince; when they are daily labouring to incense the People, and involve Numbers in the Guilt of their own seditious Practices, Indignation ought to take place of Pity, and they ought to be punish'd instead of despis'd. The more daring and insolent the Enemies of the Government appear, the more ought the real Friends of it to unite and exert: And as all I have said has arisen from a real Sense

Sense of my Duty to my King and my Country; so I shall look upon myself as amply rewarded, if any thing I have said can contribute to give the alarm to any one *English* Gentleman, to warn him of the Danger these Incendiaries are unawares leading the People into, by insensibly endeavouring to lessen the Honour and Duty they owe to so good a Prince; and preparing their Minds for such Seditions and Tumults, as the Artful and the Profligate shall think it their Interest to foment.

F I N I S.





